1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

723 military power of Coorgs with their lack of certain rituals and their somewhat catholic dietary. It is interesting to note that Shri N. Chinnappa considers the account of the origin of Coorgs given in the Kāvēri Myth to be a true, historical account. He, however, mentions that the majority of Coorgs regard themselves as Kshatriyas and not as Ugras.[1]

564 Coorgs seem to be a distinct community in occupation of the forested mountains of Coorg for many centuries, and with a way [177] of life of their own. But they were throughout in contact with Sanskritic Hinduism, and religious movements like Lingāyaṭism affected them considerably.

[162] There are two subdivisions among Coorgs today: the first division is 41,026 strong, while the second contains only 666 individuals, according to the 1941 Census. Members of the latter division are called Amma Koḍagas, or Amma Coorgs, and they are highly Brahminized in their customs and ritual. They are vegetar- [291] ians and teetotallers, and nowadays they constitute an endogamous [169] unit. Like the Brahmins they wear the sacred thread and observe annual *shrāddhas* or ancestor-feasts at which only vegetarian food is offered to the dead ancestors.

564 It is said that Amma Coorgs are the descendants of a Coorg man 173 and a Brahmin girl of Wynāḍ, daughter of one Tāyikāṭ Tambiran, 551 who expelled his daughter from his home as she attained puberty before marriage. (Formerly, among Brahmins, it was regarded as both sinful and shameful to have in the house an unmarried girl who had attained puberty.) This girl married a Coorg, and her descendants came to be known as Amma Coorgs (*amma* = mother), and they observed the customs of their mother. The name of an [104] Amma Coorg man has the suffix '*amma*' even though '*amma*' means 'mother', and is normally a suffix to a woman's name in certain parts of south India. In Coorg, a woman's name has the suffix '*avva*' which is the same as '*amma*', and a man's name has the suffix '*appa*' which means 'father'. It is said that formerly Amma Coorgs, who were concentrated in south Coorg, used to claim kinship with a similar group of people in Wynāḍ.

564 In the last few years of the reign of the last Rāja of Coorg, Amma 173 Coorgs claimed to be 'Kāvēri Brahmins', the descendants of the Brahmin disciples of the sage Agastya, husband of Kāvēri, before the latter flowed away as a river. The disciples twitted the master

[1] *Paṭṭōlé Paḷumé*, pp. 19–20.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

their palms together at the chest, and one asks the other '*saukhya*?' (happy?), and the other replies '*saukhya*' (happy).

Shri K. J. Chengappa tells me that, over fifty years ago, when he was a boy, he had to go on a walk every evening with his male cousins and elders. The boys walked, with their arms folded across their chests, several yards behind the elders.[1] They took care to speak in a low tone and to avoid laughing aloud. Young people had to behave very circumspectly in the presence of their elders: they were forbidden, for instance, to cross or stretch their legs before an elder.

A senior, let alone an elder, has to be addressed by the appropriate kinship term. It shows disrespect to address him by name. Even when one meets a senior who is not related he is addressed by a suitable kinship term. For instance, a very old man is addressed as 'grandfather', whereas someone only a few years senior to the speaker is addressed as 'elder brother'. An elder usually addresses a younger person by name, or by some term like 'child'. Two people address each other by name only when they are approximately equal in age and when there is some familiarity between them.

There is an important exception to the rule that an elder may address a younger person by name: a woman may not address her husband's younger brother by name, even if the latter is her junior by many years. In such a case the ancient Coorg rule, 'even a seventy-year-old woman should salute a seven-year-old boy', applies. Leviratic unions are preferred in Coorg, and this means that a woman's husband's younger brother might one day be her husband. And a husband may not be addressed by name. A man's wife uses the honorific plural towards him, whereas he uses the singular towards her.

Relatives who are placed in a position of respect are not addressed by name, but by the suitable kinship term. This is because calling a person by name is not regarded as consistent with putting him in a position of respect. A woman is required to show respect to her husband and to his younger brother who is her potential husband. She calls him *bava* (brother-in-law).

Respect for seniority or age is so deep-rooted in Coorgs that whenever they want to place a person in a position of honour they endow him with artificial or social seniority. There is the classic

[1] Both the folding of the arms across the chest and walking behind the elders show the respect the younger people have for the elders.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

instance of Kaiyandira Appayya who saved the honour of his *nāḍ* and its temple by defeating and killing the fighter Kullachenda Chondu. A grateful *nāḍ* decreed that none, not even elders to Appayya, may address him by name. He was not permitted to salute an elder by touching the latter's feet. He was also prohibited from doing a number of things which ordinary Coorgs did, as, for instance, wearing the black Coorg gown (only the white gown is sacred), ploughing, and eating bamboo-shoots.

At the harvest festival the astrologer may choose a young boy to perform the rite of cutting the sheaves. Such a boy is put into a position of ritual respect till the festival is over. He wears a white gown and he may not be touched till he has brought the severed sheaves home. Further, he is not permitted to salute an elder till the ritual is over. In other words the accordance of extreme respect to him necessitates the endowment of seniority for the duration of the ritual.

VIII

The Coorg *okka* seems to be stronger and more sharply structured than the joint family elsewhere in south India, with the possible exception of the matrilineal *tarwāḍ* of the Nāyars, and the patrilineal *illam* of the Nambūdris. Every *okka* has an ancestral house (*ain mané*) built on the ancestral estate. Formerly, most of the members of the *okka* lived in the ancestral house, but nowadays only one or two segments inhabit it, while the rest are scattered all over Coorg and, occasionally, all over India. All the members of the *okka* gather together only on certain occasions, such as the marriage or death of a member, the harvest festival, the festival of the local village-deity, and the periodical ancestor-propitiation.

The ancestral house and estate are accorded respect, and it is usual to have ancestor-shrines (*kaimaḍa*) or ancestor-platforms (*kāraṇava taré*) near the ancestral house. Coorgs, even those who are living away from the ancestral house, have some attachment towards it, and this expresses itself in having marriages and ancestor-propitiations performed there in preference to anywhere else. Also, a Coorg prefers to be buried after death in his ancestral burial-ground which is a corner of the ancestral estate used for disposal of the dead members of the *okka*.

The ancestral house is usually a substantial building of stone and

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

In Coorg, Shasta is referred to as Ayyappa, or Sārtāvu, and he inhabits the jungles in which he wanders at night with his favourite pack of dogs. At night, in the jungle, he can be heard whistling to his pack. Votive offerings of representations of dogs and bows and arrows are made to his shrines. Some jungles are reserved for Ayyappa exclusively, and nobody may hunt or cut down trees there. Coorgs do not hunt on Wednesdays and Saturdays because Ayyappa hunts on those days. Formerly, liquor and fowl were offered to him by Coorgs after a successful hunt. At some Ayyappa shrines non-vegetarian offerings are made, whereas at others only vegetarian offerings are made. Brahmins are usually priests at the latter shrines.

Coorgs are fond of hunting, and every ancestral house has a pack of dogs which accompany their master during hunting. Ayyappa is extremely popular with Coorgs as the deity presiding over hunting, and very many Coorgs are named after him. His Sanskritic ancestry is not, however, recalled frequently.

Another Sanskritic deity who has undergone modification in the process of becoming acceptable to his devotees is Subramaṇya, who is, in Sanskritic mythology, Skanda, the warrior-son of Shiva. But, as we have earlier mentioned, in Coorg and in the Tuḷu, Kannaḍa, and Telugu countries, Subramaṇya is identified with the cobra which is regarded by orthodox Hindus as a deity. Ant-hills inhabited by cobras are worshipped at Subramaṇya's festival.

The absorption of local cults, rites, and beliefs-colours everywhere Sanskritic Hinduism, which varies, in certain particulars, from one local area to another. The initial synthesis usually makes easier the later complete absorption of the local phenomenon in Sanskritic Hinduism.

In this connexion it is instructive to consider the attitude of the Brahmin, the representative of Sanskritic Hinduism, to the village-deities. His attitude is not something fixed and unalterable. It varies from region to region, village to village, and, frequently enough, from deity to deity in the same village, but when we consider a number of instances his varying attitudes fall into a pattern.

It was remarked earlier that the Brahmin priest of the Kaḍupālappa (Krishṇa as churning buttermilk) temple does not have any duties at the Kētrappa temple. But such complete non-co-operation

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

538 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* brings the River Kāvēri and its worship into
778 the main stream of the *purāṇas* which have an All-India spread. It also makes Sanskritic deities and ideas familiar to the inhabitants of Coorg. A special and intimate relation is established between Coorg, Coorgs, and the river as a result of it. A distinctive feature of the dress of Coorg women is associated with the Kāvēri. Coorgs regard the Kāvēri as their
[551] patron goddess. At least one in ten girls is named Kāvēri.

The account of the origin of Coorgs in the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* is an
773 attempt to reconcile certain facts which are not easy to reconcile. While it is true that Coorgs are a wealthy and powerful group with a martial outlook, they do not perform certain Vedic rituals which are performed by Kshatriyas elsewhere in India, and their dietary includes domestic pork and liquor. The myth finds a way out of the difficulties by suggesting that they are Ugras, the descendants of a Kshatriya father and Shūdra mother.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.

Volume IV, 1938.

Article No. 4.

Kinship and marriage among the Coorgs.[1]

By M. B. Emeneau.

(*Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.*)

101 [161] [131] [564] [114] 121

The Coorgs are an endogamous community of about 40,000 people who form approximately a quarter of the population of the province of Coorg, which lies in the mountains of western South India between Mysore State and British Malabar. They were originally the warrior owners of this tract and formed, and still form, the highest community in the social scale there (barring the few Brahmans who live in the province). It is doubtful how far they can be considered a caste in any strict Indian sense of the word, for they resolutely refuse to accept the ministrations of the Brahmans in any of their rites. No accurate ethnological account of these people has yet appeared. This paper gives a description of the marriage rites and the kinship system of those Coorgs who live in the central portion of the province, i.e. in Mercara and Virajpet and the district between these two towns and in Nalknad to the west; how far, if at all, the northern and southern extremities of the province present differences of detail is not known.

614 [551] 423 614

Kinship organization among the Coorgs takes the form essentially of father-sibs. Each sib (called oka) is marked as such by its name, which is borne by each member as his or her first name. All land is owned ideally, and a great part of it actually, by the sib as such and not by the individual; departures from this ownership system, whereby an individual by his own initiative or good fortune and without depending on the sib property acquires property which he holds as an individual, do not affect his position with regard to the sib property nor do they give the other sib-members a claim upon his individual property. In other words, individual ownership of land is an excrescence upon 606 the traditional sib-ownership. It is the sib, moreover, that

---

[1] This paper represents part of the work done in 1936-37 during my tenure of a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society. The phonetic writing used is in general that of the IPA. ə is the back, mid, unrounded vowel; c and j are palatal affricates, y is practically the English y. I write a subscript n at the end of a word to denote that the whole word is nasalized; e.g. in mavn, both the vowels and v are nasalized. The nasalization is best evaluated phonemically as a feature of the whole word and not of any separate vocalic or consonantal phoneme. When a suffix is added or the word becomes a member of a compound (e.g. in tamma: vi[n]), the nasalization does not extend beyond the limits of the simplex.

814 122 104

2: Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

I said above that the organization is essentially one of father-sibs. The qualification is necessary since a woman upon marriage renounces her sib-name and her claim to maintenance by her father-sib and acquires her husband's sib-name and a claim to maintenance by her husband's father-sib.[1] The formal statement of her acquirement of a place in her husband's sib (the ceremony is called sammanda) is the crucial point in the marriage ceremony and will be discussed more fully below. Her membership in the new sib is of such a sweeping character that she may even lose her personal name and be called after marriage by the personal name of her husband's mother or grandmother, in cases where either of these is dead and it is desired to preserve the use of the name in the family (rather than in the sib), if it is not used by some other female sib-member whose intercourse with the new family would be so intimate as to cause confusion. Even after her husband's death the wife remains a member of her husband's sib and cannot lose her rights in that sib's property except by remarriage, which is permissible and apparently of fairly common occurrence. If her second husband should be a member of her first husband's sib (and often enough it is his brother[2]), representatives of her father's sib are sent for and they and the representatives of her husband's sib perform the sammanda ceremony. By it she is given to her new husband and reacquires rights in his sib with a new orientation. My informant was of the opinion that the new rite is necessary since her rights in her husband's sib are essentially co-rights with her husband. To this extent it seems that the family is recognized by the Coorgs as a sub-unit within the sib, though it is significant that the Coorg language has no word for this sub-unit. If the widow marries a man of a different sib from that of her first husband, her rights in her

[1] This point may be discussed here from the comparative point of view, since Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 109, has said that he knows of no well-authenticated case of a woman in a typical sib-organized society becoming a member of her husband's sib and losing membership in her original sib. The Coorg data provide a rather clear-cut case of this kind, with the qualification indeed that a foothold is retained by the woman within her father's sib, which may however never be utilized. It is true to be sure that the Coorgs are considerably above the level of a 'primitive tribe', as were the ancient Athenians instanced by Lowie. The organization of Coorg society shows a slight secondary accent on the conjugal aspect of the family group, in that the wife has rights in her husband's sib as a co-partner with him, but that this accent is slight is clear from the lack in the language of a word denoting the family unit.

[2] It will be observed that even if a widow marries her husband's brother, the process is not automatic, but her father's sib must be called in and the woman must reacquire rights in her husband's sib. This is certainly no example of the levirate. Similarly, while a widower may marry his first wife's sister, the process is not automatic, and we must rule this out as an example of the sororate. Neither of these types of selection is either compulsory or preferred.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

parties go to the house and eat a meal. After this the bridegroom is seated in the nellaki on a stool, the bride is brought out and seated on a stool near him, and a joint-ceremony of rice-sprinkling, milk-feeding and giving of gifts takes place. The bride's mother, or her substitute as on the previous day, first performs the ceremony for the bridegroom and is followed by all the members of the party of the bride, while at the same time the ranking male member of the bridegroom's sib is doing it for the bride, followed by all the members of the bridegroom's party. After all have done the ceremony, the bridegroom is raised up by the man who has acted as his supporter on the previous day and performs the ceremony for the bride. He then takes her hand and raises her from her stool. She at once runs into the kitchen and stands there, waiting modestly.

At this point the two parties, bridegroom's and bride's, separate and form two lines facing one another. A formal conversation takes place between the parties whereby the bridegroom's party admit the bride as a member of their sib and the aruvĕs undertake their duties, the one belonging to the bridegroom's sib that he will see that the bride is treated well, the one belonging to the bride's sib that if she returns to her father's house and refuses to rejoin her husband he will initiate a settlement of the matter. This, the sammanda, is the central point of the ceremonies. Before it has taken place, the bride is not yĕt married; after it, she is a member of her husband's sib even if her husband should die before the physical consummation of the marriage. The text of the necessary formulas will be given here; in practice other words may be added at various points, e.g. in the lists of things to which the bride acquires a right, but none, or very few of the words given, may be omitted. The names given in this text are those of my informant and his first wife; in the case of the aruvĕs the sib names are correct, but the personal names are merely type-names. A member of the bride's party who knows the words begins: daṇḍu kaḍe na:ḍo:nu: daṇḍu kaḍe bendu: aṇgēnaruvēnu:[1] aa:lu santa:na

these present details are not original, but a reconstruction which attempted to reconcile cross-cousin marriage and marriage by capture by meddling with the known details in the matter of cutting down the plantain stems would be in the highest degree conjectural. My informants say that in all cases the sword is offered to do honour to the recipient's party. It seems most reasonable to suppose that it is a vestigial trace, not of marriage by capture, but of the warlike tradition of the Coorgs. Each sib concerned nearly in the marriage is given an opportunity to show its ability with the sword, the chief traditional weapon of the Coorgs, with which enemies were beheaded, and the two sibs concerned most nearly are given the opportunity to cut double the number. It is in order to refer for a general critique of the marriage by capture theory to Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 180-91.

[1] aṇgĕ is a traditional part of the phrase; its meaning is unknown to the Coorgs, but is conjectured to be the same as that of aruvĕ.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

586
587
614
539
796

'People of the district in two parties and people of the house and relatives and aruvés, have you formed lines and stood?' (The wording as given is slightly different from that of the introductory sentence of the sammanda, but the intent is identical, and either wording or others still different may be used at either ceremony.)

The aruvé of the husband's sib: nindi:tu.
'They have stood.'

Aruvé of the woman's sib: a:nak(a) ikka—[woman's sib-name] okaḍa co:makĕ: nd(u) ôṇṇuvĕ kuññi—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa apĕyyĕ: nd(u) ôṇṇuvĕ kuññira ba:lu ba:ke bandalli apĕyyĕ: nd(u) ôṇṇuvĕ kuññira a:yisa koru a:yitu: co:makĕ: nd(u) ôṇṇuvĕ kuññira adrusṭa kôṭad(u) a:yitu: patu ka:la baddu ba:vĕku runa illata:naṇguṇḍu inda:kaṇe niggaḍa pommaka maka: nd(u) ôṇṇitiñjĕ co:makĕ: nd(u) ôṇṇuvĕ kuññina poṇṇu kôṭate:ggi ta:mane:[1] ndu bayyaku ka:kiaṇḍu po:luva:.

'If so, after the child called Co:makĕ of the—sib came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apĕyyĕ of the—sib, his life having become short and her luck having become bad, because it was not their destiny having ruled to rule the house for more (lit. ten) years, now according to the saying: "If a woman has fallen into trouble, her father's house (is the place for her)," may we go taking back the child called Co:makĕ who up to today was said to be a wife among you?'

Aruvé of husband's sib: ku:na:lu maria:di annane.
'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvé of woman's sib: a:naka co:makĕ: nd(u) ôṇṇuvĕ kuññi apĕyyĕ: nd(u) ôṇṇuvĕ kuññira ba:lu ba:ke bapaka aññu:ru bira: nuru poṭilu a:yira bira:nuru ma:luna sa:laḍaṇga ba:laḍaṇga terakiaṇḍu banda:ṇḍa uṇḍitu uḍutitu miñjuna:na bayyak(u) ôḍutaṇḍu po:luva:.

'If so, what is left over, after her eating meals and wearing the clothes, of all the jewels and clothes worth 1000 pagoda-coins in the box worth 500 pagoda-coins which the child called Co:makĕ brought with her when she came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apĕyyĕ, may we go taking it back?'

Aruvé of husband's sib: ku:na:lu maria:di annane.
'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvé of woman's sib: idari sa:ksipaṇa.
'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the husband's aruvé.

Aruvé of the husband's sib: ba:tu. a:naka co:mavvĕ:[2] nd(u) ôṇṇuvĕ kuññi apĕyyĕ: nd(u) ôṇṇuvĕ kuññira va:lu ba:ke bandalli co:mavvĕggu ou:duk(u) irumbu suṇḍeku modalu ondutoṭu nu:ro:la—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manelu sammanda koḍupaka—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manelu co:mavvĕg(u) iñjĕ sammandatuna kovvañji nigga tandĕ pannandaci ponn(u) idari. beci tape.

'I have received them (lit. it came). If so, here! take the eleven gold coins which you gave on taking sib-rights which were Co:mavvĕ's in the house of the—sib when we gave to Co:mavvĕ rights in the house of the—sib to (all things, even to) the iron for making needles, among the articles

---

[1] The proverb has a second sentence: a:ṇu kôṭate:ggi aramane 'if a man gets into trouble, prison (lit. the palace; sc. is the place for him).'

[2] The husband's party use the name that the woman had in his house, with the -avvĕ termination, while the woman's party have been using the form suitable to an unmarried girl, by which she was known to them before her marriage.

[551]

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AWS Coorg AW5

585 three pebbles which he binds to the hem of her garment. This is a token of sealing her right to her husband's property. The bridegroom then takes the bride by the hand and leads her out of the house. This act of possession forms the principal part of the ceremony.

[576] As a mark of respect, he makes his obeisance to those assembled by touching their feet. In like manner, the wife fetches a pot of water from the well to the kitchen and carries a basket of manure to the nearest field and then returns to her room to indicate her willingness to share in the labours of the house. The Aruva then takes the bridegroom to the room [551] of his wife, and thenceforth, while she remains in his house as his wife, [583] she bears a new name, but will always be called by a familiar one under the parental roof. The married daughter receives from her parents a certain dowry and a good bed, but thenceforth she has no claim on the family property.

585 178 In bygone days, there was a custom of so called cloth marriage. Kittel writes that a man gave a cloth to a girl, and she, accepting it, became his wife without any further ceremonies. He might dismiss her at any time without being under the least obligation of providing either for her or the [586] children born during connection. The custom was abolished by one of the [643] Lingayat Rajas, who being unable to obtain as many girls for his harem as he wished from wanton selfishness put a stop to it.

Bibliography

113

1. Anantakrishna Iyer, L. K. : "Cochin Tribes and Castes."
"Notes on the Coorgs".
2. Holland : "J. A. S. B." Part III, 1931.
3. Hutton, J. H. : "The Census of India", Part I, 1931.
4. Richter : "Ethnographic Compendium",
"Manual of Coorg".
5. Thurston, Edgar : "Ethnographic Notes in Southern India."

3:Iyer E-5 (no date) 1948 AW5 Coorg AW5

hold duties for 60 days to recover her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well rubbed with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorg woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement.

Naming Ceremony

As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor oil plant stick with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant is put into his little hands and a gun is fired in the courtyard. He is thus at taking his first breath introduced into the world as a future hunter and warrior. This ceremony is not generally now observed. On the twelfth day after birth, the child is laid into a cradle by the mother or grandmother who gives the name, which in many instances is well sounding and significant. Boys are known by Belliappah, Ponnappa, Mandanna and girls Puvakka, Muthakka and Chinnamma. The Coorg women are very prolific and bear children to the extent of ten or twelve. In cases of necessity a wet-nurse is engaged, but infanticide is not practised.

Family

The Coorg family is of the patriarchal type. It is the domicile of all male relatives and their children belonging to one parental stock. Two or three generations, grandfather, grandmother, their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and other children numbering from 20 to 60 or even more in some cases, all live and mess together. The labourers who were once their slaves belong to the family and depend on their mistress for food and orders. So long as there is peace and harmony, a Coorg family is a fine example of the patriarchal type. Every domestic affair of importance can be undertaken only with the consent of the senior member. He is expected to look after the principal needs of the family and its members individually and check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of his control may be gathered from the fact that married sons and their wives choose their residence under the paternal roof to avoid the responsibility of a separate establishment. The senior female member is the queen of the household, and holds a corresponding position among the junior members and their wives and daughters. The peace and harmony of the family that once prevailed may be marred by discord, by the harsh treatment of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the married members of the material questions affecting the family income and individual claims. The senior member who is the Karnavan of the family has no easy position under such circumstances. The domestic life under normal circumstances is brightened by the affection of the children for their parents and relatives, and the little ones, of whom there is generally a good number, are in turn great pets of the family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, but the grown-up members are not

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60
Coorg AW5

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE TODAS[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU

IN societies organized in sibs, the sib unit sometimes has a name which is borne by all its members. Personal names often have no relation to the sib unit, but either are drawn from a common stock which may be utilized indiscriminately by all the sibs, or are invented according to patterns which are distinct from the pattern of sib-division. The latter type is seen in the system employed by the Plains Indians of North America. The former resembles the family naming system employed normally in European or European-derived cultures, where it is not combined with a sib-division except in such groups as the Scottish clans.

§1. An example of sib-division combined with utilization of a common stock of personal names is seen in the Coorgs of South India. Among these people the patrilineal sibs have each a name which is borne by every member of the sib. Personal names are drawn from a rather small stock, consisting of some sixty names for men and a slightly smaller number for women. A male or an unmarried female is identified by the sib-name, the father's personal name, and the individual's personal name, in this order. A married female bears her husband's sib-name, his personal name, and her own personal name. There seems to be no tendency for personal names to be linked with particular sibs. A slight tendency is found to preserve the use of particular personal names within the family (as distinguished from the sib) by giving to a child the name of some dead ancestor within the family whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. It is doubtful, however, whether this tendency has even as much force as the similar tendency in European or American society; a notable difference between the two is that the Coorgs do not give such names during the lifetime of the earlier bearer of the name, since this would cause a certain amount of confusion within the family.

§2. Among the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiris in South India, the method of giving names is different from both those outlined above. The individual does not bear a name which is common to all members of his

---

[1] This paper represents a small part of the work which I have done on the non-literary languages of South India, under the auspices and with the financial aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–36 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–37. I have to acknowledge my gratitude to Dr David Mandelbaum, who read over the paper and made numerous helpful suggestions. The system of phonemic writing for Toda words is the same as that employed in my paper, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937); in that paper, *t*, *ṇ*, *ṛ* should be read for *v*, *ḍ*, *ɣ* in Toda words throughout. Accent is always on the initial syllable.